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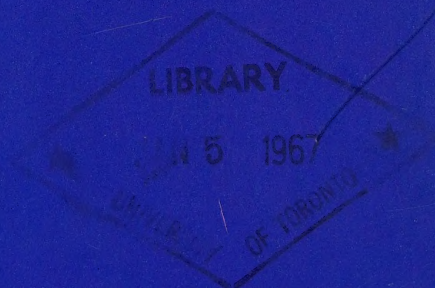
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CHANGING PATTERNS IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT



WOMEN'S BUREAU
CANADA DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

CHANGING PATTERNS IN
WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Report of a Consultation
held March 18, 1966
Sir Wilfrid Laurier Building
Ottawa

Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour
1966

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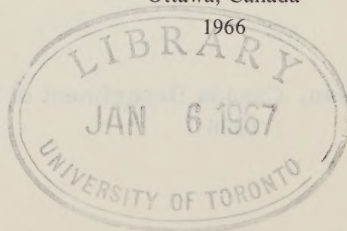
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1966



FOREWORD

The Consultation was based on papers given by Dr. Sylvia Ostry, Assistant Director of the Labour Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Consultant to the Economic Council of Canada, and by Professor Noah Meltz of the University of Toronto at Scarborough College and the Department of Political Economy.

Leaders of afternoon discussion groups were: Mr. B. Curtis, Director of Adult Education, Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa; Miss M. Lachapelle, Supervisor, Employment Service (System), Canadian National Railways, (Montreal); Miss J. Lynam, Secretary on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Mr. M. McCullagh, National Liaison Officer, Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Mrs. P. Poland, Social Worker and Counsellor, Y.W.C.A., (Montreal).

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STATEMENT BY THE DEPUTY MINISTER

Dr. George V. Haythorne

We all are much aware these days of significant changes taking place in our working world, changes that affect all members of the labour force and that affect women workers in a very special way. These changes themselves and the impact of them on women in employment require careful attention especially in view of the increasing importance we are attaching to the full development and use of all resources including our human resources.

With manpower shortages occurring in some sections of the economy, the need is all the greater to see that we are using our human resources well, for the sake of the economy and for the sake of the individuals concerned.

These dynamic forces call for extensive training, retraining and the redirection of many careers in the face of changing job requirements and opportunities. In the case of women workers, they require new and imaginative approaches to employment arrangements, particularly for those available to work only on a part-time basis.

We need to understand too the positive and negative effects which increased pressures on the labour force have on labour standards and working conditions. These apply to many workers but especially to women in part-time employment. There is often a tendency to put extra pressures on such workers, to expect more of them or to have them get along with inadequate services and facilities because they may be in the labour force only on a temporary basis. Employers, unions and governments need to know what is happening in these and other cases in order to maintain and improve our labour standards and our working conditions, steps which, when soundly based, can in turn contribute to productivity gains and generally to economic and social growth.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN

Marion V. Royce
Director, Women's Bureau

It has become almost a tradition for the Women's Bureau to hold an annual one-day consultation on questions relating to women's employment. This year we shall concentrate on the phenomenon of changing patterns in women's employment. Our two speakers, Dr. Ostry and Professor Meltz, will deal each with one part of a whole. The two addresses belong together.

Actually, the nature of the phenomenon, if we were to put it in a nutshell, is that women's work is rapidly being transferred from within to outside the home. Not all women's work is outside the home by any means but this movement of the employment of women to work outside the home, which is paid work in contrast to unpaid work in the home, is changing the role of women in our society. Sometimes I think we are almost afraid to face the facts particularly because of apprehension about the effects on the life of the family. Today we shall be looking at this whole subject in some depth.

As I was thinking about what we hoped to do, there came to my mind a little limerick that is a favourite of mine because it is so very relevant in our day - to the problems of women's employment as well as to problems in other areas and I decided to indulge myself by sharing it with you. It is from the "Space Child's Mother Goose":

Probable, possible, my black hen,
She lays her eggs in the relative when,
She doesn't lay eggs in the positive now,
Because she's unable to postulate how."

Today, we want to concentrate on how we can control some of the less desirable probabilities and maximize the positive possibilities of women's employment in our rapidly changing society.

THE FEMALE WORKER: LABOUR FORCE AND OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS

by Sylvia Ostry

LABOUR FORCE TRENDS

The social, economic and technological changes of the past century in Canada have altered the lives of all workers but for no group has the transformation been so radical as for women. From some vantage points, the developments of recent decades amount to almost a complete break with the past. Further, the trends we shall be discussing today have by no means run their course. Even the most casual empiricism suggests that the role of women in the labour market in Canada is changing and will continue to change in response to the evolving needs of women themselves and the demands of the economy.

Unfortunately, as is so often the case in attempting to trace the course of social and economic history, the analyst faced with the task of documenting these developments in the labour force activity of women in Canada is severely handicapped by the paucity of statistical information. The collection of even the scattered and fragmentary historical data which I will shortly present to you entailed a fearful amount of digging, revising, adjusting and the like. I won't bore (or alarm) you with the mechanics of this operation, which was a combination of detective work and jig saw puzzle fitting. I mention it only as a warning that while the general outline of the picture is reasonably clear these data will not bear close scrutiny as to either the level of specific activity rates or the timing of changes.

I thought that I would cover two aspects of female labour force activity in my presentation this morning. In addition to the discussion of historical trends which I have already indicated, I would like to say something about the current situation -- what are the factors which influence women's decisions to enter the labour market? Unfortunately there is not a large body of research in this area in Canada. However, I have done a little work in trying to expose the relationships between female labour force activity and a number of demographic and economic variables and will present some of the results here. At the moment we have several more intensive projects launched but not yet completed. There also appears to be more interest in this subject in some of the universities so that the prospects for extended and improved

knowledge in this field appear brighter now than they have at any time in the past.

First, then, the historical picture. There has been a remarkable rise in the labour force activity of women in Canada over the course of this century. (We shall be describing these changes mainly in terms of participation rates which are simply percentages of women in a given population with labour force membership.) From a low of just over 14% in 1901, the proportion of adult women with labour force membership rose to over 30% by 1965, more than double the level at the turn of the century. In 1901 women accounted for less than 15% of the labour supply of this country: today the female share of the working population is approaching one-third.

In Table 1, historical data on female participation rates by age from 1921 to 1965 are presented. All but the last row of statistics are based on data from the Decennial Censuses so that the terminal observation year is 1961. The 1965 information, derived from our monthly sample survey, is not entirely comparable with the census information but the overall trend is so clear that it is not affected by these differences in data source.

From Table 1, it may be seen that while the participation rate rose for women in each of the age categories (least of all for teen agers) by far the greatest increase in labour force activity was demonstrated by middle-aged and older women. It should be noted, too, that the rate of increase accelerated after 1941. Most of the women who entered the labour market during this period were married with children. It seems safe to assume, then, that the most marked historical increase in labour force activity has been among married women over the age of 35. This is confirmed by the few statistics available on the participation rates of women classified by marital status. Thus in 1941 the rate for married women was something under 4%: by 1951 it had climbed to over 11% and by 1961, as reported in the Census, it was over 22%. This is a far more dramatic increase than that exhibited by women as a whole.

Further evidence along these lines is presented in Table 2. These figures reveal most clearly the changes which have taken place in female labour force activity over the past inter-censal decade 1951-1961. Two facts stand out and deserve underlining. First, the increased participation of women in recent years is due much more to behavioural changes of married women, not of single women or women in other marital categories (although marriage is still a powerful inhibitor of female labour force participation). Secondly, there has been a decisive change in the age pattern or so-called "participation profile" of married women but not of other women. For the first time in this century a two-phase working life cycle has emerged -- a phenomenon already apparent in the

TABLE 1
FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES: 1921-1961

Year	Age							
	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	14+
1921	29.7	39.9	19.5	12.2(1)	11.0*	9.7*	6.6	19.9
1931	26.5	47.4	24.4	14.3	12.9	11.3	6.3	21.8
1941	26.9	46.9	27.9	18.1	14.5	11.1	5.8	23.0
1951	33.9	49.1	25.5	22.4	21.1	13.5	4.5	24.6
1961	31.6	50.7	29.2	31.2	32.9	23.1	6.2	29.6
June 1965	31.7	53.6	32.1	35.0	36.7	27.8	5.8	32.1

(1) Women 35-49. 1921 Census, Vol. IV, Table XIV.

* Estimated on basis of 1931 pattern.

TABLE 2
FEMALE WAGE EARNERS, BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS, AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE
FEMALE POPULATION, 1951 AND 1961

Date and Marital Status	Age							
	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	15+
Married								
1951	15.9	16.8	10.8	10.5	8.8	4.4	1.2	9.6
1961	23.1	25.8	18.7	21.0	21.1	11.9	2.2	18.5
Per Cent Increase in Rate 1951-1961	44.9	53.3	73.9	100.0	138.9	168.0	83.3	93.2
Single								
1951	37.9	76.3	76.0	71.1	64.1	49.3	16.9	56.2
1961	33.0	80.4	79.2	74.4	68.7	56.4	19.7	52.6
Per Cent Increase in Rate 1951-1961	-12.8	5.4	4.1	4.7	7.1	14.4	16.4	-6.5
Widowed and Divorced								
1951	37.0	55.5	55.8	49.1	35.6	19.1	3.3	16.0
1961	45.6	59.6	57.5	54.3	48.6	29.3	4.4	19.7
Per Cent Increase in Rate 1951-1961	23.2	7.3	3.0	10.5	36.3	53.4	34.2	22.9

Source: 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 17 and 1961 Census, Vol. III, 3, 15.

United States a decade earlier. Thus, as may be seen in Table 2, in 1951 participation rates of married women reached a peak at 20-24 years and declined steadily thereafter. In 1961, the first phase of high activity in the early years was followed by a sharp drop until the middle thirties. The second phase involved a return to the labour force of many, though certainly not all, of the women who had once worked outside the home. Thus a second, lower, peak is seen at ages 35-44.

The emergence of the two-phase working life cycle of women can be traced from a somewhat different vantage point if we look at the participation profiles of cohorts of women, i.e. groups of women born in the same time period. In this way we follow the changing levels of activity of the same group of women as they age instead of comparing the activity rates of women of a given age over time. The value of this approach rests on the assumption that the experience and behaviour of a group of young women in the first phase of their working life will affect their behaviour in later years.

Unfortunately, our incursion into cohort analysis must be a limited one because of severe data deficiency. However, even the fragmentary data of Table 3 which are traced in Chart 1 reveal the revolutionary changes in the work life of different generations of women over this century. Scarcely more than one of ten women born in Canada just after Confederation would have entered the labour force before the turn of the century and, as we may see from Chart 1, this proportion changed very little until these women reached their mid fifties after which their number in the working population declined. A similar pattern is observed for women born in the final decade of the last century, although the percentage of these women with some labour force attachment was consistently higher than that for the earlier generation. But the group of women who came of working age during and just after the First World War behaved very differently. After a phase of declining labour force participation which extended until their middle forties, some of these women decided to re-enter the labour market in their later middle age during a decade, it should be noted, which straddled another major war. Here, once again, we have isolated the first manifestation of the two phase work life. This second phase is much more sharply in evidence for the next and subsequent "generations". It may also be seen that as we move forward in time the re-entry phase occurs earlier in middle-life.

One other fact of importance emerges from the cohort picture in Chart 1. With the exception of the 1941 profile, each successive cohort profile lies above that of the preceding "generation". In other words, it appears that a larger proportion of each new generation of women has entered the labour force and this early experience influenced their behaviour in later years,

TABLE 3
FEMALE COHORTS, 15-24 YEARS, PARTICIPATION RATES, 1921-1961

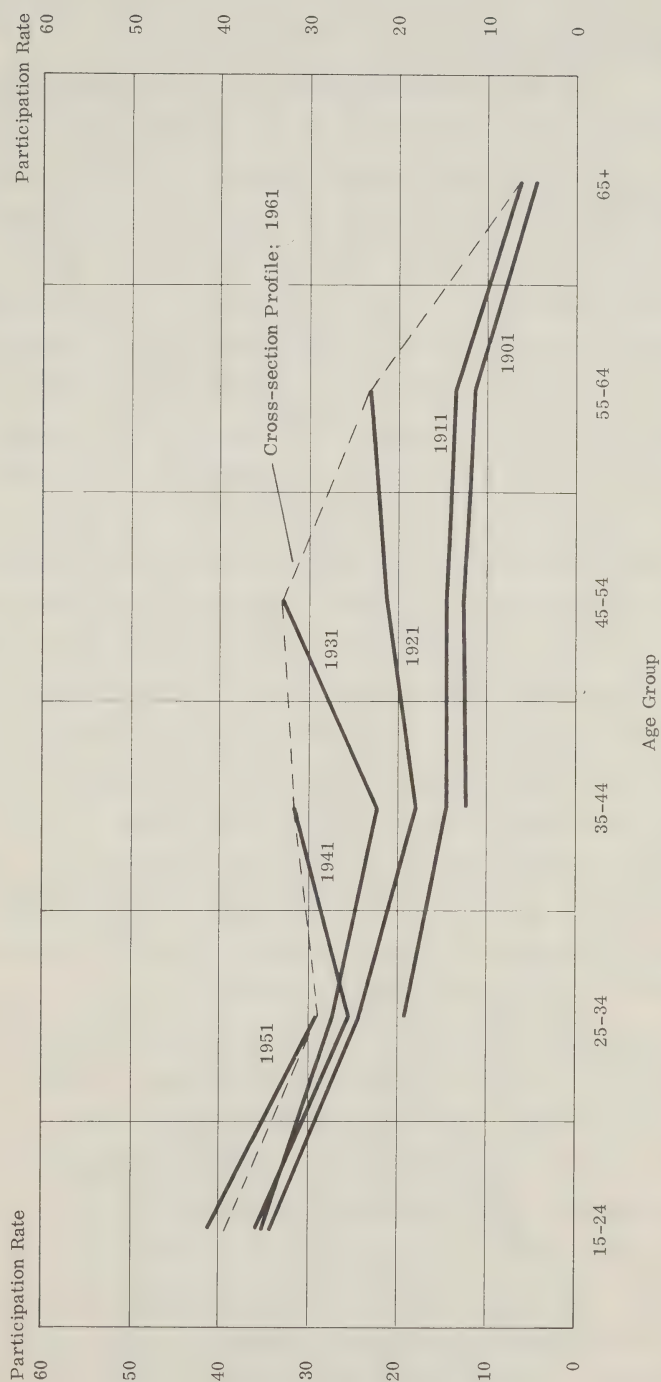
Date at which Cohort was:		Participation Rate of Cohort in:				
Born	15-24 Years	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
1877 - 1886	1901	12.2 ⁽¹⁾	12.9	11.1	4.6 ⁽³⁾	
1887 - 1896	1911	19.5	14.3	14.5	13.5	6.2 ⁽³⁾
1897 - 1906	1921	34.1 ⁽²⁾	24.4	18.1	21.1	23.1
1907 - 1916	1931		35.3 ⁽²⁾	27.9	22.4	32.9
1917 - 1926	1941			35.6 ⁽²⁾	25.5	31.2
1927 - 1936	1951				41.0 ⁽²⁾	29.2
1937 - 1946	1961					39.5 ⁽²⁾

(1) Excludes a few Indians on reservations. Includes women 35-49 years. 1921 Census, Vol. IV, Table XIV.

(2) Participation rate of women 14-24 years. Absence of age detail in earlier Censuses precluded removal of 14 year olds.

(3) Participation rate of women 65 and over.

Chart 1
FEMALE COHORT PARTICIPATION PROFILES



i.e. a group which participates more in the early years of working life, participates more at every subsequent age. It is this development which one observes in the conventional type of trend tables of female participation by age.

If I may summarize the analysis thus far, there have been two significant developments in the working life pattern of women over the course of this century, and especially during the past twenty years. First, a rapidly growing proportion of women of all ages (except teen agers) are working outside the home. Secondly, the most dramatic rise in labour market activity has been observed among married women over the age of 35. This latter, more recent development is the consequence of the emergence of a "second phase" of work life for these married women after withdrawal from the labour market during the child bearing and child rearing years. I think it's worthwhile adding that a more intensive analysis -- far too lengthy to present here -- reveals that the married women who re-enter the market in middle age are women with children living in urban centres or non-farm areas. The participation profiles of childless women or of women living on farms do not exhibit a two phase work life cycle. (Charts 2 and 3). The phenomenon of "re-entry" is primarily an urban phenomenon (and reflects urban influences in the rural non-farm areas).

These, then, are the historical developments. Why have they happened? What are the major factors accounting for these behavioural changes? As usual, it is far easier to ask these questions than to answer them. Clearly no socio-economic phenomenon of this magnitude can be "explained" in a few neat and simple generalisations. Even if experts were agreed as to the main outlines of an explanatory "model" -- and they are not -- one may be assured that its specifications would be too complex and too lengthy to describe in the course of a morning's lecture. What I have to say, in response to these questions must be regarded as both partial and, in some instances, tentative.

One factor of undoubted importance has operated on the demand side of the market. Professor Meltz will elaborate on this aspect but it must at least be mentioned here. There has been, in recent decades, a marked expansion of jobs which are considered especially suitable for feminine employment, in particular jobs in the service-producing sector of the economy and in white collar occupations. This growth has opened up new work opportunities for women, opportunities to supplement family income in a society which places ever-greater emphasis on rising material standards of life. Further to this end, social barriers to the employment of married women have largely crumbled as a consequence of marked changes in the attitudes of employers, no doubt stimulated by the pace and direction of economic growth.

As the demand for female labour has increased, the

Chart 2

FEMALE PARTICIPATION BY AGE
MARITAL STATUS AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN
FIFTEEN YEARS AND UNDER AT HOME
1961

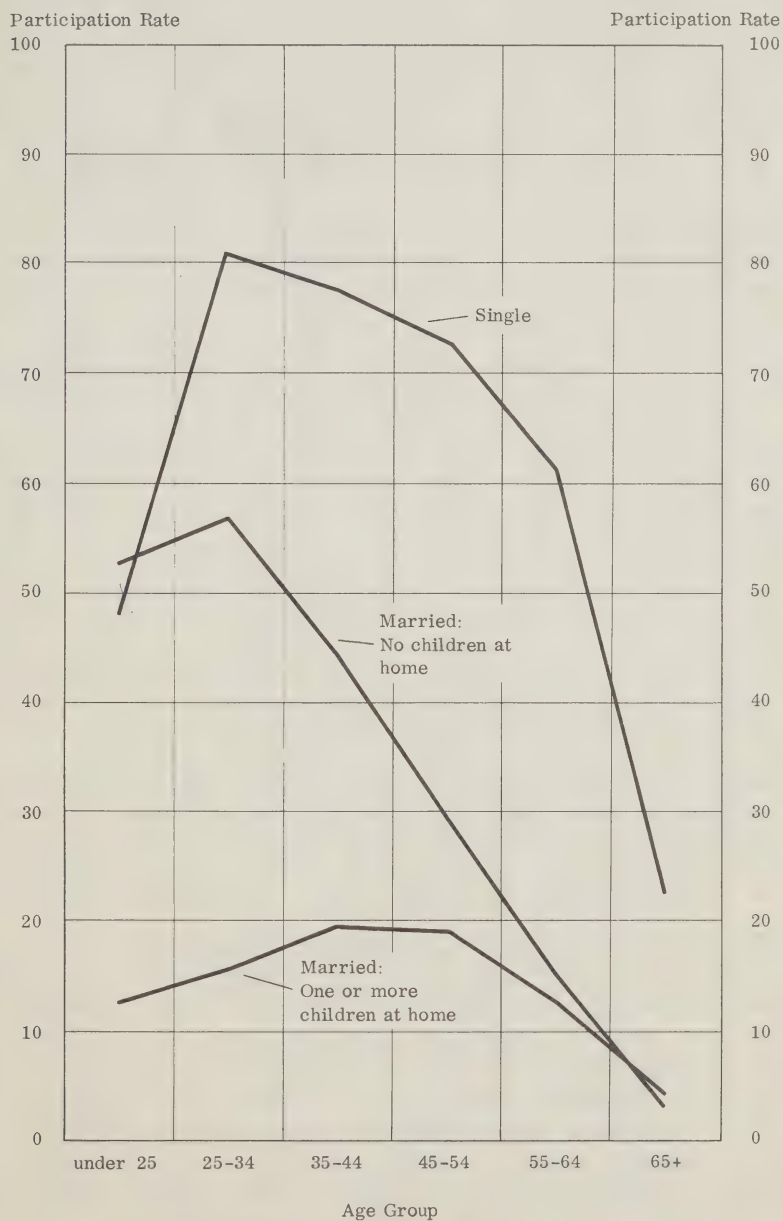
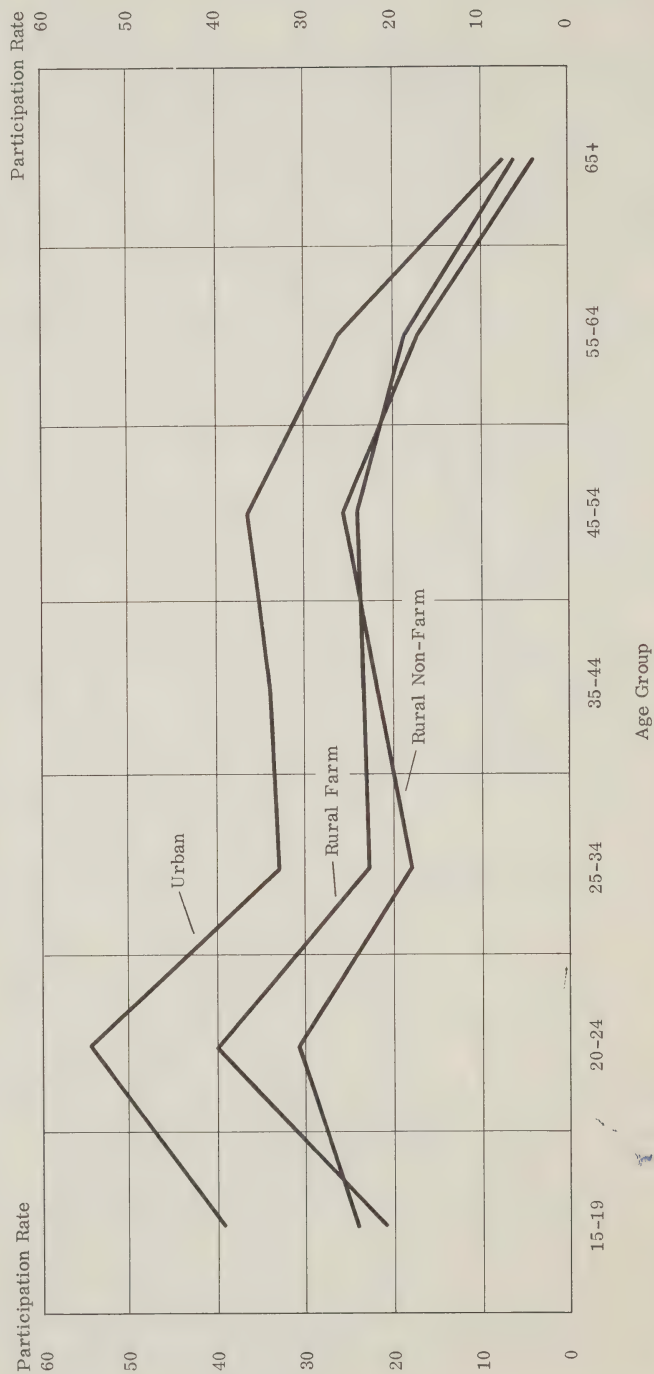


Chart 3
FEMALE PARTICIPATION BY AGE AND RESIDENCE
1961



changing circumstances of married women in the home and in the community appear to have facilitated their entry into the world of work. Many of these developments are familiar enough and we take them for granted today without pondering their implications. Radical improvements in "household technology" and the widespread development of commercial substitutes for most household products have, at least potentially, "released" female labour for the market -- or for improved housekeeping, child care or more coffee parties and bridge games. At the same time, the long-run reduction of the work week and the more recent very rapid growth in part-time employment have at least created the possibility for more women to combine household tasks and work outside the home. Consider, in this regard, statements from a Report of the Maine Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics, in 1891. "My sister and I ... have no time to do our own cooking as we work eleven hours a day, so we must board out". And the comment by the author of the Report "After working hard all day many women stay up late at night to do cleaning and washing". (Cited in Clarence Long, The Labor Force Under Changing Income and Employment, Princeton, 1958, p. 140.) The situation in Canada around the turn of the century was very much the same. A work week of 55-60 hours in manufacturing industries, for example, was not unusual whereas today the most common standard week is 40 hours for production workers and $37\frac{1}{2}$ hours for office staff. In addition, there has recently been a very considerable increase in voluntary part-time employment among women. Almost one-third of the increase in total employment over the past decade was in part-time work, most of it voluntary and concentrated in the service and trade industries. While no systematic association of a statistical nature has been established between changes in working hours and the rise in female participation, a priori it seems a highly plausible hypothesis that, to paraphrase the words of one observer, the large-scale transformation from housewife or mother's helper to secretary or sales clerk must have been related to the fact that a female who has typed until five o'clock may still have the necessary time in which to look for a cheap roast or a rich husband.

A number of demographic developments have also favoured the increased participation of women. Of these, one of the most important has been the great rural-urban shift of population over this century. Women are much more likely to work outside the home in urban than in rural areas (Chart 3) because the jobs which have opened up to them in number are concentrated in cities. Further, female participation is likely to be lower in rural areas for other reasons -- more conservative social attitudes, higher birth rates, lack of many household conveniences which increases their work load at home. So urbanisation, both for economic and cultural reasons, has been a powerful stimulus to increased

female labour force participation in Canada as in other countries.

Changing marital and fertility patterns have also been of some importance in encouraging or at least permitting increased female labour market activity, especially of married women over the age of 35. Over the long-run there has been a decline in average family size, with at least some concomitant decline in the burden of child care responsibilities. More significantly, in recent decades women have been marrying and starting their families earlier, and they are younger when their last child enters school. Thus the average age at first marriage was 24.4 years in 1940 but 22.9 by 1961. Further, in 1941, only 56% of women under the age of 45 had had their first child before their twenty-fifth birthday: by 1961, this proportion had reached 70%. Finally, the age-specific fertility rates of women over the age of 35 have been falling quite markedly since the end of World War II suggesting that the effective reproduction period of most women today is completed much earlier than was the case 10 or 15 years ago.

Finally, secular improvements in education have undoubtedly played a significant role in fostering women's work outside the home. Indeed, the association between educational level and labour force participation is so strong and so consistent for any group of women selected from the total population that it deserves further elaboration. This will provide a bridge between our discussion of historical developments and the analysis of the current situation.

Before presenting the information describing the relationship between a woman's education and her labour force behaviour, it is useful to say a little about some of the background factors or influences which explain the relationship. Part of the explanation lies in the different marital and fertility characteristics of more educated women. The more educated a woman, the later she is likely to marry and -- indeed -- the less likely she is to marry at all. From Table 4 it may be seen that the average age of marriage rises consistently with increasing education although this pattern is less marked for younger women suggesting that these marriage habits are changing. Further, the more educated a woman, the more likely she is to have fewer children or to be childless. These differential fertility patterns are strikingly apparent in Table 5. For each age category of wives the fertility rate declines with higher education and the percentage of childless women increases. It should also be noted that more educated women tend to postpone having children for a longer period after marriage than do women with less schooling. Thus, in the age group 20-24, over half the wives with a university degree are childless, compared with around 20% for those without high school and just over one-quarter with high school graduation. But the differentials (by level of education) in the proportion of childless women diminish markedly after age 25.

TABLE 4
AVERAGE AGE AT MARRIAGE OF EVER-MARRIED, SCHOOLING OF WIFE,
WOMEN, 25-49 YEARS OF AGE, BY AGE AND SCHOOLING,
CANADA, 1961

Age of Wife	Schooling			
	Pre-High School	High School	Some University	University Degree
25 - 29	20.15	20.65	22.10	22.97
35 - 39	21.79	22.56	23.96	25.26
45 - 49	23.17	24.61	26.27	27.23

Source: Population Sample, 1961 Census.

TABLE 5
FERTILITY RATE⁽¹⁾ AND PERCENTAGE CHILDLESS WOMEN, BY AGE AND SCHOOLING
CANADA, 1961

Age of Wife	Pre-High School	High School	Some University	University Degree
15-19 Fertility Rate	622.3	559.8	206.1	0.0
Percentage Childless	37.78	44.02	79.09	100.0
20-24 Fertility Rate	803.7	722.7	547.7	432.7
Percentage Childless	19.63	27.73	45.23	56.73
25-34 Fertility Rate	910.6	877.2	821.6	791.3
Percentage Childless	8.94	12.28	17.83	20.88
35-44 Fertility Rate	914.9	896.0	876.8	866.0
Percentage Childless	8.29	10.40	12.32	13.38
45-54 Fertility Rate	882.2	841.7	819.6	805.9
Percentage Childless	11.78	15.83	18.04	19.37
55-64 Fertility Rate	875.9	816.7	786.5	734.4
Percentage Childless	12.38	18.33	21.37	26.51
65+ Fertility Rate	890.7	837.7	800.4	796.1
Percentage Childless	10.93	16.23	19.94	20.40

Source: 1961 Census, Population Sample.

(1) Number of Children per 1,000 women.

These differences in behaviour in respect to marriage and child bearing are not the only factors accounting for the strong positive association between female labour force activity and education which we shall be detailing below. It is generally true, for example, that more interesting, pleasant and remunerative work is available the more education a person has. The higher the level of education, therefore, the greater the "pull" into the labour market. Then, too, education changes peoples' tastes in a great many respects and changes in taste evoke changes in behaviour. Unfortunately, we can only speculate about these matters because we have no direct information. However, it seems to me plausible to argue that a more educated woman, particularly one with a university degree, is likely to be less satisfied with housework as a full-time occupation. Perhaps the problem is that it isn't a full-time occupation. Whatever the case, I would hypothesize that education affects a woman's tastes concerning the allocation of her time among three activities, housework (including child care), leisure (and that covers a lot of activity!) and gainful employment outside the home, in the direction of the latter. Further, education may increase her tastes for a higher material standard of living for herself and her family and this too would act as a stimulus to labour force activity. I am sure you can think of other reasons for the association -- we might speculate further during the discussion -- but now I must turn to the data which reveal the strength and consistency of the association between women's education and labour force participation.

In Table 6 it may be clearly seen that for women as a whole, regardless of marital status, the higher the level of education, the higher the level of labour force participation at each age. (This, by the way, is not true for men.) Indeed, education exerts a more powerful influence than does age in determining whether or not a woman enters the labour force. At any given age the difference in the participation of women who have not completed elementary school and those who have finished university -- to take the two extremes -- is far greater than any difference associated with age alone.

The relationship observed for the female population as a whole -- more education, more participation -- is also characteristic of married women whether or not they have children and whatever the age of their children. This may be seen in Table 7 based on specially prepared data from the population sample of the 1961 Census. For each of the three family types participation rises markedly and consistently with improvement in education. Note, however, the very substantial differences in the levels of participation between women with young children and those with older children or childless.

The influence of education is evident again in Table 8 which

TABLE 6
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN, 20-64 YEARS OF AGE, BY AGE AND SCHOOLING
CANADA, 1961

Age of Wife	Years of Schooling				
	Elementary		Secondary		University
	Less than 5	5 and over	1-3	4-5	
15 years and over	14.3	23.1	31.0	40.6	47.3
20-24	25.1	35.9	45.9	64.5	65.0
25-34	19.99	23.0	29.1	36.9	44.4
35-44	18.2	26.0	32.4	37.6	44.0
45-54	20.3	27.7	35.5	43.6	52.7
55-64	15.0	20.8	27.6	34.4	43.0
					47.9
					64.3
					43.9
					44.6
					55.7
					50.6

Source: 1961 Census, Bulletin 2.1-11.

TABLE 7
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN
BY FAMILY TYPE AND SCHOOLING
CANADA, 1961

Family Type	Schooling		
	Elementary or Less	High School	University
Total	17.5	25.0	36.2
One or more children under 6	9.7	12.8	15.3
Some children, none under 6	20.8	29.8	33.3
No children	26.1	44.0	51.4

Source: Population Sample, 1961 Census.

TABLE 8
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN(1), BY SCHOOLING AND FAMILY TYPE, BY INCOME OF HUSBAND

Education of Wife and Family Type	Income of Husband					(6) Total
	(1) Under \$3,000	(2) 3,000-4,999	(3) 5,000-6,999	(4) 7,000-9,999	(5) 10,000 and over	
Total	26.0	24.9	20.2	14.2	9.4	22.4
One or more children under 6						
elementary or less	12.0	9.7	6.2	5.2	6.2	9.7
high school	19.0	15.3	10.0	5.2	4.5	12.8
university	36.2	24.5	15.7	8.8	6.6	15.3
Some children, none under 6						
elementary or less	23.5	21.8	17.1	12.4	10.6	20.8
high school	38.6	36.4	28.7	18.1	9.7	29.8
university	56.1	53.7	44.2	29.0	11.4	33.3
No children						
elementary or less	28.1	27.0	21.3	14.2	15.6	26.1
high school	46.9	49.9	42.4	27.9	14.1	44.0
university	60.2	63.0	57.3	40.6	20.5	51.4
Average Income of Women(2) by Education			Participation of Married Women by Education			
elementary or less	\$1,236					
high school	\$1,764					
university	\$2,840					

Source: Population sample, 1961 Census.

(1) In husband-wife families, living in urban and rural non-farm areas, husband in labour force.

(2) Non-farm income of women in urban and rural non-farm areas: 1961 Census, Bulletin 4.1-1.

includes information on husband's income as well. Table 8 is rather complex and perhaps a little difficult to assimilate for those not accustomed to grappling with statistical material. It provides a good deal of information on the labour force activity patterns of married women, however, and it's probably a good idea for me to spend a few minutes pointing out some of the significant relationships exposed by the statistics in Table 8. First, the impact of demographic factors is seen in the differences in participation rates of women grouped by family type or stage of family formation, as the demographers like to put it. Note that it is not the presence of children which is the powerful inhibitory factor on married women's labour force activity, but the presence of pre-school children. Secondly, reading across the rows of Table 8 reveals a fairly strong, although not invariable, negative relationship between a wife's tendency to work outside the home and her husband's income: the lower the husband's income, the more likely his wife will work. Finally, if we read down the columns of the Table, the positive association between a wife's education and level of participation is again evident, i.e. higher education, more participation. But it is of some interest to note that this relationship is not very strong at high levels of husband's income. If, as has been argued above, a woman's education is a reasonably accurate reflection of her earning power, these data suggest that the "pull" of the market exerted by good earnings opportunities for women is weakened or even nullified when her husband's earning ability is high. This is most evident in families with young children; as may be seen, the positive income effect on mothers with pre-school children (as reflected by the wife's education) is very weak when their husbands earn over \$7,000. Evidently, even the better, high paying jobs are not sufficiently attractive to draw these women into the market when their husbands earn enough money to permit them to devote full-time care to their home and children.

Thus far, in addition to describing the historical changes, we have suggested that a woman's labour force activity (as revealed by current information) is influenced by her age, her marital status, whether or not she has children, the age of those children and by economic and social factors such as her husband's income and her own education and earning power. This very brief and highly compressed account has given us some clues -- but certainly no definitive answer to the question "why do women work?" There are other pieces of evidence which are suggestive. Thus, we have some data showing that if her husband is unemployed at a given time a woman is more likely to be in the labour force and similarly if her husband has a record of broken employment over a period of time. It appears, too, that a woman's tendency to work outside the home is influenced by her husband's occupation, as a reflection, perhaps, of differences in social values and attitudes. It is also

very interesting that young women (under 25) though not older women are more likely to be in the labour force if their husbands are in the high-status occupational groups, managerial or professional. An American expert has put forward (and successfully tested) the hypothesis that a strong stimulus to the labour force entry of wives emerges when husband's current income is below his expected "permanent" or potential income. This hypothesis suggests that families gear their standard of living to the husband's expected potential income and when his current income is below that level, make up the difference, at least in part, through the wife's working. (Another way of closing the gap is by going into debt.) Men in professional and managerial occupations will not have attained their full potential income before they are fully established in middle-age. Other occupations offer less scope for financial improvement over the course of a life's work so that the gap between a young man's current and his potential income would not be very great. This whole question of the influence of permanent versus current income on the behaviour of families is extremely interesting and we are exploring it further at the present time in connection with a study of working wives and family debt patterns.

That pretty well concludes what I have to say by way of formal presentation. I hope you will feel free to ask me any questions that occur to you whether or not they are directly related to the information I have just presented.

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS

Question: In the course of your studies have you found any significant differences between the Province of Quebec and other parts of Canada with respect to the pattern of women's labour force participation?

Mrs. Ostry: This is the sort of thing we are examining. We are doing a very large and rather complicated analysis, a multi-variate analysis. This is, instead of what I've done this morning, looking at things bit by bit, pair by pair, we are putting everything we can get hold of in the way of quantitative data into the computer to see what relationships emerge, and among the variables we are looking at, are language spoken and residence. We are going to see whether in fact there is an association between a woman's labour force activity or propensity and her residence in a particular part of this country or the language she speaks. We are similarly looking at post-war immigrants. So far we have not done any of this kind of analysis for the province of Quebec alone. We thought it would be better to handle the whole question in a more sophisticated way by throwing everything in and looking at what sort of relationships emerge.

Question: You mentioned something about the working wife. There have been cases where the additional income did not help. There were evidently increasing costs that counter-balanced what she was earning. Has this been studied enough so that there can be any kind of forecast of how this is going to come out eventually?

Mrs. Ostry: We have never had information on this in the past. Every two years at the Bureau, a survey is made on the income and assets of a sample of families in this country. Although they have been doing this for some years now, they had never thought of linking these factors with any other phenomenon. But last year it occurred to me that it would be very interesting to see whether there was any link with labour force activity of the wife as well as some aspects of family income and expenditure. So I have persuaded the Bureau to give me information on individual families - not identify them - I am not interested in that. It is simply a computer tape that gives all the information on individual families so that we can see the characteristics of these families: their stage of family formation, the husband's income, the family's

income, the wife's income, their debt position, not only their personal debt, which I am interested in, but mortgage debts and total debt. This project is still at an early stage. What I have given you today was something I had calculated from the original computer run because I wanted to see if it was true that in families where the wife was working, income was higher and they were more heavily in debt. I will be looking into this much further, not from the policy viewpoint because that is outside my sphere of interest. However, I agree with you that it has some very interesting implications for social policy.

Question: Have you done any studies of the attitudes of men in the higher occupational groups towards working wives?

Mrs. Ostry: No I have not done any attitudinal studies. I'd love to see some done, but the organization that I work for does not go in for attitudinal studies. Perhaps one of the sociologists present could tell us something about that. Professor McFarlane?

Professor McFarlane: I am not certain that I know of any studies of that type, but if we can assume that employers are husbands, we know something of their attitudes towards married working women. Also, if we assume that members of professional associations are married and have wives who have worked we know of their attitudes towards professional women. So I suppose one could relate the two if one wished. However, I certainly know of very few studies of that type, though William Whyte in "The Organization Man" suggests that for certain types of occupational groups management tends to frown upon the fact that the wife of a senior member of their personnel has a job. In this respect a company town or a small town might be different from larger communities.

Mrs. Ostry: I think it is significant though that the participation rate of wives whose husbands are in high level occupations, once they are older, that is over the age of 25, is very low. That fact suggests that there may be a negative attitude towards working wives among men in high status occupations. Nevertheless I think that if it does exist, it is probably changing very rapidly. Recently I read an article in an American magazine which said that the status symbol for an executive was a wife with a Ph.D.; that is promising.

Question: I imagine this increase in the female labour force must have some effect on the over-all participation

of men. Could you indicate some of the major changes? Are they upsetting the traditional activity of men in the labour market?

Mrs. Ostry: I agree with you that it seems likely that the increase in labour force activity of women has had some effect on the labour force activity of men. I don't know of any study, except one in the United States, which showed statistically that the rise in the participation of women, particularly middle-aged women, was a strong factor in pushing older men out of the market and in allowing the sons of these women to go further with their education. The result was to depress the participation rate of both older men and very young men, so that historically over time the rise in the participation of women was very closely linked with trends in the participation rate of men. On the one hand, the study showed these women to be at a competitive advantage in the market because an employer would prefer to hire a middle-aged woman rather than an older man. At the same time the women through their work sustained their children in school longer, with the result that the number of teen-age boys in the market fell to a lower level. In a more intimate behavioural link within a family - whether the participation of a wife affects her husband's participation - I can't think of any reason, except that it is increasingly common for young men who are going on with their education to be supported not by their mothers but by their wives. One factor in this may be that wives are very often able to get jobs to keep their husbands at university longer. Considerable numbers of men in managerial and professional occupations may indeed be going on with their education while their wives are working to help them out.

Question: What you have just said raises another question in my mind. Are women, married or single, now so firmly entrenched in the labour force that the pattern of a man being continually pushed towards the labour force and a woman being drawn into it might tend to change in future years? Or do you think that, if there were to be a depression or perhaps unemployment, there would be some form of discrimination against women?

Mrs. Ostry: I have considered that when we were in a period of rather high unemployment there were mutterings about women having jobs, but I think we have gone beyond the stage of a return to the attitudes of the 30's. On the other question, there have been studies in the United States of depressed localities which suggest that there has been some exchange of the roles of men and women. Of course, there is also the rather dreadful phenomenon of men who were in blue collar occupations that have disappeared whose wives have been able to get jobs in low paying service sectors, often domestic service. In situations of that kind

there may have been an exchange of roles, but this is an isolated phenomenon and one which I don't think has any further implications, except that it is the result of very serious structural dislocation in particular regions of the economy.

Question: This is a very small question but I notice that in Table 8 for some reason all the income groups follow one pattern except those in the \$10,000 and over class. I wonder if you have any thoughts on why there is a different pattern for that group.

Mrs. Ostry: Yes, I notice there is a decline in the participation of women with high school education in that income group. Well after all the difference between a woman with high school and one with university is a difference between a whole world of jobs, isn't it? A woman with high school education can work at a range of jobs of which the ceiling is a clerical job. The woman with a university education has another world of jobs open to her, and it may be that the pull, the attractiveness of jobs, as between the woman with high school and the woman with elementary or less is not that powerful. The woman with elementary or less can work in sales, lower paid sales jobs and service jobs. The woman with high school can work by and large only in clerical jobs and if her husband is earning \$10,000 or over that may not be an attractive enough possibility. One would wonder about a situation where you have a husband with \$10,000 and over and a wife with less than elementary education, but I cannot think of any other explanation, and this is the sort of thing that would have to come out of a much more sophisticated analysis than this one. The plain fact is that it is one of the puzzles of the data.

Question: Does the labour force survey include part-time work?

Mrs. Ostry: Yes, indeed it does. You are in the labour force if you are at work one hour or more during the week preceding the enumeration or if you were looking for work during that week. So it includes everybody who is either working or looking for work in the period in question. I have a lot of data on the labour force activity of people over the year which show that while a majority of women in the labour force do work a full year, there are large numbers of women who work part of the year and part of the week when they are working. I did not bring any of these data with me.

Professor McFarlane: Just to continue that answer, Dr. Ostry, it might well be too that the labour market or the occupational market is such that the better educated are better able

to work on a part-time basis than on full-time, unlike the situation in the United Kingdom, where it tends to be the opposite.

Mrs. Ostry: Yes that is a very good point. The professional woman can often work as she chooses, and this, of course, encourages her to work.

Question: I was interested in your reference to a study that showed it was the effect of the woman's income that influenced her returning to work rather than her husband's income. I wonder if you could expand on this somewhat?

Mrs. Ostry: Yes, there have been two studies: an American study which measured in economic terms the strength of what was called the elasticity of this relationship for every percentage increase in the wife's earning power. The response in the increase in participation was double that for every percentage increase in her income as compared with every percentage decline in her husband's income. In a very crude way with these data I estimated these elasticities, finding that for every percentage rise in the wife's earning power the inflow of wives into the labour market was double the proportion measured in terms of the relationship to the husband's income. It appears, therefore, that the pulling power of increased income for the wife is stronger than the pushing power of the husband's income. In the future we shall be looking into this in more detail with better data.

Questioner comments: Given the social conditions of the time they entered the labour force, it might be that they entered it because of socio-economic factors beyond their control. In that case their low education would not have been due to lack of natural ability. In respect to the participation rate of wives whose husbands' have incomes of \$10,000 or over as shown in Table 8, my hypothesis would be that these women with low education have entered the labour force at a very early age, working in quite low unskilled clerical and sales positions. But now having acquired seniority or managerial positions, they feel more pull than push. It is really just a guess, however. We would need to know their work histories. I could understand such a situation if the women had high school education, but I don't quite see how women with less than elementary education would have acquired jobs at this level.

Mrs. Ostry: I just had another thought. Perhaps if these girls who did not manage to get through public school managed to get a husband who has done so well, both they and their husbands are exceptional people. Maybe the ladies with a strong taste for leisure manage to find rich husbands.

Question: Dr. Ostry, does not the fact that many thousands of part-time women workers are included in the labour force figures greatly distort the proportion of women in the labour force.

Mrs. Ostry: Yes, it does to some extent. I wish I had realized that there would be this much interest. I have calculated figures on an equivalent basis, translating what information we have about the duration of participation over the years as well as the fact of current participation and then compared males and females. Of course, the males, taking into account both the duration and the consistency of their participation as well as the level, show a much higher participation than women. There is a degree of overstatement in this kind of figures, but we cannot measure the labour force in any other way than by activity, so that one has to deal with the fact that women are working, even if they are working less than a full week. Any given fact is a relevant fact in terms of measuring the activity at a period of time for the total population, which means that the figures do overstate the proportion of women in the labour force. Women's commitment to the labour market at the present time is much different in quality - much less strong, much more tenuous than is men's. It appears to be growing stronger, however, and unmistakably has done so as shown by whatever historical set of figures we look at.

I see another interesting thing - that in very recent years as women have become more attached to the labour market, their unemployment rates have risen. It is too soon to be sure whether this is true or not, but we are one of the few countries in the world where female unemployment rates have been consistently half the level of male, and my explanation has always been that our women when they lose a job just simply go back to housekeeping. They don't stay in the market looking for work, but as they become more firmly attached in the way that men are, they tend to stay in the market looking for work, with the result that their unemployment rate has shown a slight rise in the past few years.

Question: Are there any figures that show what percentage of men work part time?

Mrs. Ostry: Yes, we do have some rather detailed figures now not only for part time but part year. Part time means part of the week, and part year means part of the year, and we have measures of both. But the fact is that the majority of women are in the labour market a full year and a full week. Although the rise in part-time work has been enormous, this does not mean that a majority of women are only partially attached to the labour market. That is not true. Still it is a much smaller proportion

than it is for men. For men full-time, full-year is something over 80%, for women something over 70%.

THE FEMALE WORKER: OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS IN CANADA

by Professor Noah M. Meltz

In the preceding paper Dr. Ostry dealt with the significant increase in female participation in the labour force and the reasons for this increase. I would like to discuss the type of work in which these women were employed. My paper will be concerned with the following four questions:

1. In which occupations are women presently engaged?
2. What changes have occurred over time in the distribution of the female labour force by occupation?
3. Why have these changes occurred?
4. In which occupations are women likely to be employed in the future?

This presentation will draw heavily on two earlier studies I prepared for the Department of Labour: Occupational Trends in Canada 1931 to 1961; (1963) and Changes in the Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force 1931-1961 (1965). I might add that I am preparing a third study for the government which will provide much additional historical material on occupations as well as an exploration of possibilities of occupational projections.

Before discussing occupational trends I want to deal briefly with what is meant by an occupation and how occupations are classified for purposes of collecting statistics. The concept of an occupation may seem straight-forward at first glance, but it is fraught with pitfalls for the uninitiated.

An occupation is defined as a kind of work. The kind of work, in turn, may require certain types of education and training as well as being determined by the "...material worked with; tools and equipment used; or working environment. Each of these factors has particular importance for certain groups of occupations; for example, education and training for professional, technical and related workers; material worked for certain craftsmen and production process workers..."¹ etc. On this basis, a woman, whose work consisted primarily of typing, would be classified as a typist even if she had been trained as a school teacher. By the same

¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Occupational Classification Manual, Census of Canada, 1961, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961 p. 8.

token, there is no such occupation as "civil servant". The term civil servant doesn't describe the type of work a person does but only the employer, that is, the government. More precisely, a civil servant would be a government employee who came under the terms of the Civil Service Act.

Having said that an occupation is a kind of work, our problems have just begun. We then have to decide what constitutes a different kind of work, how many different kinds of work there are and how many we are interested in. If we lived in a simple fishing and/or hunting society there would only be a few distinct kinds of work which would be performed. Today, in our industrially advanced economy with minute division of labour there are tens of thousands of different kinds of work that can be identified if we base the differences on the items included in the definition above. Moreover, since we do not live in a static economy, the kinds of work are continually changing. The problem for the social scientist who is examining the world of work is to develop measures which are reasonably meaningful and provide some basis for comparisons over time.

You are all familiar with measures of length, but let me ask you, why are there twelve inches in a foot? My dictionary says that a foot was originally based on the length of the human foot (Funk and Wagnall p. 956). Since most feet are of different lengths the question is whose foot was chosen to provide the standard? I don't know but someone had to make an arbitrary decision concerning the particular distance which one foot would represent.

The same is true of occupations. Certain arbitrary decisions have to be taken in order to divide work functions into occupations. The statistics I will be presenting today are classified according to the system prepared for the 1951 decennial population census. For each census, a new occupational classification is prepared. Since new jobs continually appear, while some older ones disappear or are radically altered, adjustments have to be made each time in the classification. However, some standardization has to be introduced in order to compare statistics from one period to the next. The data I will be using are taken from the four decennial censuses 1931 to 1961 and adjusted to conform with the 1951 occupation classification. Unfortunately it was not possible to compare all occupations.

The 1951 occupation classification lists 14,000 occupation titles. These titles are organized under 280 occupation classes which in turn are further narrowed to 16 major occupation groups. For example, soda jerker, stillroom girl, mess man are occupation titles listed under the occupation class waiters and waitresses. This class, in turn, is part of the major group service occupations. Statistics are only available for the 280 occupation classes and the 16 major groups. Although the classification manuals do not

contain definitions as such, the following can be used to describe five of the major groups that are the most prominent in this paper:

Professional Occupations:

Workers in this major group conduct research and apply, in a professional capacity, scientific knowledge and methods to a variety of technological, economic, social, industrial and governmental problems..... Those classified in this major group, perform tasks which usually require training in a specific scientific or other professional field.....

Clerical Occupations:

Workers in this major group complete and maintain records of financial and other business activities, handle cash on behalf of an organization or its customers, record oral or written matters.....

Commercial and Financial Occupations:

This major group includes workers who are engaged in or directly associated with selling goods and services of all kinds. In addition, this category includes occupations identified with insurance, real estate and other financial areas of work. Working proprietors are not included in this group.

Manufacturing and Mechanical Occupations:

This major group includes workers engaged in or directly associated with manufacturing processes.

Service Occupations:

This major group includes workers who are directly concerned with protective, personal and domestic services.²

Two things should be kept in mind concerning occupations: (1) the classification is arbitrary; and (2) there are problems in attempting to make historical comparisons. Given this background,

² Noah M. Meltz, Changes in Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1961, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965, pp. 13-15.

we now move on to discuss the present occupational picture for women and how it has changed over time.

I

IN WHICH OCCUPATIONS ARE WOMEN PRESENTLY ENGAGED?

There are three ways to examine the present occupational pattern of women:

1. The distribution of the total female labour force by occupation.

2. A comparison of the occupational distribution of the female labour force and the male labour force.

3. The number of females in an occupation as a percentage of the total number of males and females in the occupation.

In 1961 there were 1 3/4 million female workers in Canada. Two-thirds of these, that is, well over one million women, were to be found in just three major occupation groups: clerical, service and professional. A further 20 per cent were located in manufacturing and mechanical (production) and commercial and financial (sales) occupations. The clerical category contained by far the largest number of women, over 1/2 million, while there were approximately 400,000 in service occupations and 275,000 in professional occupations.³ (Table 2 of Occupational Trends.)

Not only are women concentrated in a few major occupation groups, but within these categories they tend to be located in a small number of occupation classes. There were over 200,000 women stenographers, typists and clerk-typists, representing forty per cent of the clerical group. Waitresses, practical nurses, charworkers, cooks, hairdressers and launderers made up one half of the women in the service category. Within the professional group, close to half of the females were school teachers. Nurses, both graduate and in training, made up almost a third of the number of professional women.

The following is a list in order of magnitude of the fifteen largest female occupations in 1961 and the one hundred and seventeen occupations included in the Occupational Trends Report. (Tables 5 and 6). These fifteen occupations contained almost half the female labour force, forty-seven per cent in 1961.

³ Unless otherwise specified all statistics are taken from the publication, Occupational Trends cited above.

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF WOMEN IN LABOUR FORCE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
1961

Occupation Class	Number in 1961 (1000's)	Per Cent of Labour Force	Cumulative Per Cent	Females as Per Cent of Total
Stenographers, typists, clerk-typists	209	11.9	11.9	97
Sales clerks	133	7.6	19.5	58
School teachers	119	6.7	26.2	70
Waitresses	62	3.5	29.7	71
Nurses-graduate	59	3.4	33.1	96
Practical nurses	49	2.8	35.9	79
Telephone operators	34	1.9	37.8	95
Charworkers and cleaners	32	1.8	39.6	32
Cooks	25	1.4	41.0	49.5
Hairdressers	23	1.3	42.3	55
Nurses-in-training	23	1.3	43.6	99
Launderers	23	1.3	44.9	71
Office appliance operators	22	1.3	46.2	79
Dressmakers and seamstresses	16	.9	47.1	96
Music teachers	7	.4	47.5	60

How does this distribution compare with the male labour force? There are two distinct differences. While sixty-seven per cent of all female workers were in clerical, service and professional groups, only twenty-one per cent of all males were in these groups. Males were located in manual and primary (farming, logging, fishing) occupations. Secondly, the fifteen occupations which contained the largest number of males only made up fourteen per cent of the male labour force as compared with 47 per cent for the fifteen largest female occupations. Women tend to be much more concentrated in occupational terms than men.

A third way of looking at the present female labour force is to see what proportion females made up of the total number of persons in each occupation. Although women made up twenty-eight per cent of the labour force in 1961, this did not hold true for individual occupations. Women tended to either dominate an occupation, that is to outnumber men, or to make up only a fraction of the total. It seems to be all or nothing. By definition, the reverse would be true for males.

Women outnumbered men in two major occupation groups, clerical and service, with sixty-two per cent and fifty-eight per cent respectively. In the professional category women were forty-three per cent of the total while a little over a third of the commercial and financial workers (sales) were women. (Table 3 of Occupational Trends.)

When we look at the fifteen largest female occupations, we find that in all but one, charworkers and cleaners, women outnumbered men. Men and women were neck and neck as cooks but males were slightly ahead of females, there being 25,033 male cooks and 24,528 females in 1961. In seven other occupation classes women formed the majority: librarians, attendants-doctors and dentists offices, other occupations in tobacco products, shoe-makers and repairers - factory weavers-textile, bookbinders, and other occupations in bookbinding. There were no women at all in twenty-five of the hundred and seventeen listed in our study while twenty-six others had fewer than one hundred women.

To sum up the answer to our first question, we can say that at the present time women are concentrated in clerical, service and professional occupation groups. Furthermore, women tend to be located in a few specific occupations where they outnumber men. Is this concentration a voluntary choice or are women forced into these occupations through discrimination? How much do biological differences play in the occupational patterns? Why are there virtually no women in any of the construction trades, logging, mining or as labourers? These questions are beyond the scope of this paper. However, in the third section we will take a brief look at the reason for changes in proportion of women in clerical and service occupation.

II

WHAT CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED OVER TIME IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION?

I would like to examine the historical trends in the distribution of the female labour force in the same three ways as was just done for 1961:

1. The distribution of total female labour force by occupation.

2. The comparison of the occupational patterns of males and females.

3. Number of females in each occupation as a percentage of the total number of males and females in each occupation.

Two time periods will be considered: 1901 to 1961 and 1931 to 1961.

Looking back over the sixty years prior to 1961, we find that two things have happened:

1. Women have tended to spread out among a wider range of occupation groups. Although women were concentrated in a few major groups in 1961, the degree of concentration was even greater in 1901. In the latter year, ninety-four per cent of all women were in five major groups compared with eighty-five per cent in 1961.

2. The order of importance of occupation groups has changed considerably since the turn of the century. This is the most interesting development. We noted earlier that in 1961 the largest female occupation group was clerical (twenty-nine per cent of the labour force), followed by service (twenty-three per cent) and professional (sixteen per cent). Contrast this with the 1901 situation: forty-two per cent of a much smaller number of working women were in service occupations, while thirty per cent were in so-called manufacturing and mechanical occupations, that is, production and assembly work. Professional women made up fifteen per cent of the total--almost the same as the present proportion, while clerical only amounted to five per cent.

When did the shifts in the occupational patterns occur? The most dramatic changes appear to have occurred during war-time periods. Unfortunately, our census data only give us observations or snapshots once every ten years so that we can only guess at what went on in between. However, the most significant changes in the distribution of the female labour force occurred between 1911-1921 and 1941-1951. In each of these periods the largest changes involved a decrease in the proportion of women engaged in service occupations and an increase in clerical. In both these periods there was an actual decline in the number of female

service workers coupled with sizeable growth in number of clerical workers. The proportion in production occupations fell from 1901 to 1931, then rose somewhat from 1931 to 1941.

Another interesting observation is the long run stability in the percentage of women who are in professional occupations. As I mentioned, in 1901 fifteen per cent of the female labour force were in the professional category. The peak was reached in 1921 when nineteen per cent of all female employees were professionals--second only to service workers. From 1921, the professional percentage gradually declined to only fourteen per cent in 1951, but it recovered slightly to sixteen per cent in 1961. This means that for most of this century women in the professional category have barely held their own in relation to the tremendous growth of the female labour force. The new jobs have by no means all been in the professional sector.

What about the historical trend in the specific occupation classes? Unfortunately, as a result of changes in the occupation classification we cannot carry all of the occupation classes back to 1931. Of the fifteen largest female occupations in 1961 we can obtain comparable data on fourteen. However, these fourteen contained forty-one per cent of the female labour force in 1931. It would appear that even on a historical basis women tended to be concentrated in a few occupation classes.

Has the degree of concentration of women in a few classes increased or decreased over time? On the basis of a comparison of 1931 and 1961, it would seem that there may have been a slight increase in degree of concentration.

Another point to be mentioned is that the ranking of the largest female occupations was somewhat different in 1931 than in 1961. Stenographers were still the largest occupation class, but school teachers were second with only three hundred fewer women. The gap between the two was 90,000 in 1961. Sales clerks were third in 1931, graduate nurses fourth and telephone operators fifth.

How do the long term shifts in the occupational distribution of females compare with the changes for males?

1. Males tended to be more widely distributed among occupation groups in 1961 than in 1901.

2. The order of importance of major groups also changed considerably. In 1901 almost half the male labour force were farmers with another 1/3 in manual occupations. By 1961, manual occupations were the largest sector for males followed by white collar. The proportion of men in professional occupations doubled between 1901 and 1961 from five to ten per cent. This should be contrasted with the long term stability of the female professional percentage at sixteen per cent.

A third way of looking at the changes in the distribution of

the female labour force is to examine what happened to the female share of the total number of persons in particular occupations. In her paper Dr. Ostry indicated that the female percentage of the labour force has increased significantly during this century. This general increase in the female share was not duplicated within all occupations. In fact, in some occupations the female proportion actually declined.

Taking the major occupation groups first, the greatest gain occurred in clerical occupations where the percentage of women rose from twenty-two per cent in 1901 to sixty-two per cent in 1961. The next largest gain was in the commercial and financial (sales) category, while sizeable percentage increases occurred in managerial, labourers and agricultural occupations. On the other hand, women decreased as a percentage of professional and service occupations. In other words, in these latter occupations the number of men rose faster than the number of women.

Although in the majority of occupation classes the female proportion rose between 1931 and 1961, the largest gains seem to have occurred in occupations in which there were already large proportions of women in 1931. For example: sales clerks, waitresses, charworkers, cooks and hairdressers.

In terms of the statistics, how can we account for the decline in the female share of the professional group? There seem to have been two factors at work. First, even though females increased as a proportion of most professional occupations, they experienced a considerable relative reduction in the sizeable occupation school teachers. Male school teachers increased faster than female. Secondly, many of the rapidly growing professional occupations have small proportions of women, for example, science and engineering technicians.

As for the service group, the decline occurred between 1941 and 1951. Since 1951 the number of women in service occupations has been increasing faster than the number of men.

In summary, from historical trends we can say first that there was a significant shift of women from service to clerical occupations. This isn't to say that the same women moved from one job to the other, but rather that the net effect of women entering and leaving the labour force produced this change. On the other hand, the percentage of women who were in professional occupations remained virtually unchanged. Secondly, the female share of clerical and commercial and financial (sales) occupations increased sharply. However, females did not increase as fast as males in the professional category or in the service group.

III

WHY HAVE THESE CHANGES OCCURRED IN THE EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF WOMEN?

In order to answer the question of why the employment patterns of women have changed, I must exercise my academic prerogative and briefly present the theoretical economic framework which sets out the determinants of employment by occupation. Economists conceive of a market for labour which in most respects is similar to other types of markets. There is a demand and supply and both price and quantity are determined. In this case, price is the wage or salary rate (per hour, per month or per year) while the quantity dimension is employment per hour, per week or per year. Both wages and employment are determined simultaneously.

Employment and wages in an occupation could change for any one or more of the following reasons:

1. a change in demand, with no change in supply
2. a change in supply with no change in demand
3. a change in both demand and supply.

Having said this, I haven't answered the question of what could account for changes in employment but have merely re-phrased it. Now you will want to know what could lie behind changes in demand and/or supply. The problem is a complex one because demand and supply are not always independent but in fact often influence each other, especially over time.

One way of approaching the problem of employment change is to leave out the wage side and try to separate the changes that occurred in employment into components resulting from various developments which relate to the actual products that the labour assists in producing. In economics we say that the demand for labour is "derived", that is, it is derived from the products it co-operates in producing.

In my study Changes in Occupational Composition, I analyzed the impact of three factors on the combined number of males and females in each major occupation group: (Chapter 7.)

1. distribution of output among industries
2. labour productivity of industries
3. occupational structure of the labour force in each occupation.

A second approach of this study was an attempt to construct simple demand and supply relationships for each occupation group taking account of changes in number of persons and wages. (Chapter 5.)

Rather than explore the methods I used and the general findings, I think you would be more interested in one piece of analysis that followed from the simple demand-supply approach.

In particular, I was trying to explain why the proportion of clerical workers (males and females combined) in the labour force had risen so much in the period 1931 to 1961 whereas the average earnings in this group rose much more slowly than the overall average for the labour force.

In terms of economic theory, if you have an increase in demand with no change in supply, you can generally expect both price and quantity to rise. In the case of clerical workers there was undoubtedly an increase in demand but the fact that earnings decreased relative to the overall average seemed to indicate that supply must have increased even faster than demand. Where did this increase in supply come from? The answer seems to be that it came from the female side of the labour force.

As was indicated earlier, the number of females in clerical work increased greatly and also grew more rapidly than the number of males in clerical work. It is likely that one of the factors prompting the large increase in supply of women to perform clerical jobs was the relatively high level of earnings they could obtain. Taking earnings in each occupation group as a percentage of the overall average, we find the following for the three groups with the largest number of females:

Average Earnings in Each Occupation Group as a
Percentage of Average for All Occupations

	1941	1951	1961
Professional	152	133	151
Clerical	149	127	117
Service	48	53	58

Up to 1951, in terms of averages, there was very little difference between average earnings in professional and clerical occupations. However, if we look at the number of years of schooling required to perform these occupations, we find over a three-year difference in favour of professional. Thus even with greater years of schooling professionals on the average were receiving almost the same pay.

Compare this situation with that for service occupations. In 1941 average earnings in clerical were three times that of service while in 1941 they were almost 2 1/2 times. Obviously, from an earnings point of view it is reasonable to expect that a greater number of women would flow into clerical jobs.

Let me give you the conclusions to the chapter in my study which deals with this question:

The increase in female participation in the labour force permitted the increase in demand for clerical

workers to raise the number employed in this occupation without raising relative earnings (of males and females combined). In fact, the increase in supply of females to clerical occupations was so great that relative earnings fell.....

Part of the growth in supply of women to clerical occupations appears to have been at the expense of service occupations. As a result, the recent increase in the demand for service occupations led to an increase in the relative earnings of women in the service group. The proportion of women in service occupations declined over the period.

This is just a sampling of the type of analysis that can be undertaken to explain why the occupational distribution of the labour force changed for males and females combined and in separate terms. Much more research as well as improvements in statistics are required to proceed further especially at the level of specific occupation classes.

IV

IN WHICH OCCUPATIONS ARE WOMEN LIKELY TO BE EMPLOYED IN THE FUTURE?

To answer this question we have to be able to estimate future demand and supply for persons in different occupations as well as the interaction between the two. This requires knowledge of:

1. What types of products people will be buying in the future and what quantities they will be buying.

2. How these products will be produced and where they will be produced. We need to know how much machinery and equipment, men (and women), buildings, land, etc., will be used in producing these products. This partly depends on the technology and partly depends on:

3. How much employers will have to pay men and women, how much machines cost, etc.

Some efforts are currently being made to peer into the future.⁴ However, not only are the tools for prognostication very

⁴ For a discussion of some of the problems of forecasting manpower requirements see: W. Lee Hansen, "Labour Force and Occupational Projections", paper presented to the Industrial Relations Research Association meetings, New York, December, 1965.

Noah M. Meltz, "The Applications and Limitations of Manpower forecasting", paper presented to Conference on Poverty and Opportunity, Ottawa, December 7-10, 1965.

weak but even our knowledge of the present is inadequate. A regular sampling is taken of the number of people in major occupation groups but aside from the complete population census which is conducted once every ten years, we only have scattered current figures on the number of people in various specific occupations. For example, we have estimates of the number of male and female professional, clerical and service workers. However, very little work has been done to pull together consistent estimates of numbers of persons in occupations within these groups. We should also have earnings data on the same basis as any estimates of numbers of persons.

From the studies that are being conducted here and in the United States, it would seem that clerical, service and professional occupations will continue to grow faster than the labour force.⁵ Since these groups employ considerable numbers of women, it is likely that job opportunities for women in these areas at least will continue to grow.

How much faster than the labour force will these occupations grow? How many additional job opportunities will be created through turnover within these occupations? Will males continue to increase faster than females in professional and technical occupations or will females tend to be employed in rapidly expanding occupations? Will females continue to dominate the clerical field or will earnings patterns change and bring males back to this occupation group? Further research, additional statistics and the specification of certain assumptions concerning economic development are needed before we can begin to answer these questions.

I realize that in this paper I have raised more questions than I have answered. This was done intentionally. I wanted to do two things: (1) to indicate the general outlines of occupational trends among women and (2) show you that we still have a great deal of work to do before we can explain thoroughly these patterns or even forecast the future.

The census data used in this paper were adjusted to a consistent classification by Miss Louise Woods of the Canadian Department of Labour in connection with the Department's occupational trends studies. The guidelines for the adjustments were provided by Miss A.G. Wood head of the Occupations and Employment Section, Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

⁵ Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, Looking Ahead to the World of Work, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965.

U.S. Department of Labour, Manpower Challenge of the 1960's, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960.

This paper benefited from the helpful comments of my colleague Professor Arthur Kruger, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto.

QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS

Question: In your projection figures for occupational trends, Professor Meltz, have you taken into account at all the geographical mobility of women in the future? Do you see this as changing any of these trends in different areas of Canada? Under the new manpower policy we are encouraging geographical mobility, do you foresee any changes?

Professor Meltz: I think that if mobility continues to follow the pattern that Dr. Ostry mentioned, a shift from rural to urban, it certainly would fit in with the projections that have been made for these groups. Clerical jobs certainly are more plentiful in urban areas, and I think the same would be true for professional and service. The patterns would fit in with the projected trends or the estimates.

Question: In your figures do you have a regional breakdown apart from the all-Canada breakdown of occupational trends?

Professor Meltz: I don't have the regional statistics here, but the study was set up so that any of the provinces that wanted to duplicate this type of study could follow suit. I know that at least one province is doing so, but the amount of work that would have been required to convert all of the data to a consistent classification and compare them over a period of time prevented us from doing a breakdown province by province or even by region. In short it could be done, but it takes manpower to do it.

Question: Are there any great differences in Quebec compared with the other provinces in certain occupations?

Professor Meltz: I have not studied this in detail. I am not sure if there is anyone here who could answer for us.

Mrs. Ostry: There is almost no difference. This question has been raised in professional groups. Certainly between Quebec and Ontario there are only very minor differences.

Question: Have you made any studies in connection with occupational trends with respect to the effect of automation? I thought perhaps clerical and service groups might be particularly

affected and as so many women are in them naturally the subject would be of special interest to us.

Professor Meltz: Some studies have been done in the Department of Labour of several industries and some insurance companies. I did attempt some studies earlier of particular firms. The problem was to define what you meant by automation. When you actually went out in the field you found that there just wasn't some thing about which you could say, "Ah there's automation!" Rather you had various things which often came under the category of automation. For example, one often thinks simply of the installing of a large machine as displacing labour, but when you go into the field you find that you have new products being produced and you have new machinery to produce new products. Well, is this automation or not? You have a change in machines producing wool products, you have a change in the level of production. You have a change in the raw materials that you use. You have what we call contracting out and some of the functions that you may have performed before are now performed by someone else. Is this part of automation or not?

Research in development could affect occupational patterns too--so in the field work that was done we tried to identify all the factors that could affect the situation and not attribute changes to what we call automation. I just came across one case in one firm which would come under the general category of automation and that displaced three people, while the total number that we dealt with numbered close to 10,000. It is a complex thing to try to get at. There have been very few studies that have come to grips with the question of what automation is and that have tried to measure the impact.

Question: I was interested in the comment that clerical wages have tended to remain relatively stable while those in the services have tended to rise? I think that in the service industries the work is becoming more specialized and therefore can demand higher wages.

Professor Meltz: I must apologize for the figures because they are very rough. I just intended to give a general idea of what happened. It is true that there could have been a shift within, and this is why I mentioned at the outset that the study that is being completed now shows occupations in various finer occupational groups, and this perhaps could answer that question. But looking at the overall group figures it still seems consistent with the fact that while wages were rising in clerical occupations, in service industries they were rising much faster.

Question: Would it not be true Professor Meltz that you started from a much lower level of wage in service occupations than in clerical work. Perhaps minimum wage legislation across the country may have had some effect on wages in service, whereas it really does not affect clerical work.

Professor Meltz: Yes, I think that would certainly be true.

Question: In your list of occupations, I do not find home economists and dietitians. Are these not considered to be professions? I see nurses and nursing assistants but not the class in which I am interested. I'd like very much to know the answer.

Professor Meltz: These were not included in our historical trends study. There is a separate occupation class called dietitians in both the 1951 and 1961 censuses.

Question: A very minor point, in a hasty glance at your book I did not see any specific classification for domestics, but it has some bearing on women returning to the labour market. Is there any information you can give us on domestics - household help?

Professor Meltz: The problem here again is that the groups were not comparable over time so I can give you figures for 1961 and the other years, but I could not say how much of the change was real, how much of it was a change in classification. These could be found in the census monographs under the category, "maids and related service workers not elsewhere classified". In 1961 there were 120,000 but the problem was that we were not able to include these in the historical trends because we were not able to get a comparable group for earlier years.

Question: You can't tell whether the decline is relative or not. Have they gone into other occupations?

Professor Meltz: I would think that they have and I would hazard a guess that they have declined relatively but perhaps -
Dr. Ostry?

Dr. Ostry: It is true that the census will not give you what are considered comparable figures, but I was interested personally and I started to use rough figures. Their wages have gone up faster than any other single occupational group. They have gone, I think, into nurses aides. There has been an enormous increase in nurses aides. Nurses aides' wages have gone up almost not at all. Here is clearly a case where the market is not operating,

where it is a social business. These women will do the same kind of work, worse work, far worse work, under much worse circumstances and at lower wages rather than go into domestic service. I would like to see a study of the domestic service market; I think we certainly need it.

Question: Have you been able to do some studies of the inhibiting factors in the participation of women in the different occupational categories so that we could find out why they are not more evenly distributed in any category?

Professor Meltz: I am afraid I can't. This is one of the things I would be interested in seeing investigated but at this point all I have done is really trace the statistics themselves and raise the questions that I would like to see answered.

Chairman: I think perhaps this is a question for the sociologists.

Question: Mr. Meltz, in your figures you indicate that between 1951 and 1961 there was an increase in the number of stenographers, typists, clerk typists from 133,000 to 209,000 for an increase of approximately 80,000. Do you have any approximate idea of how many of these came into the labour force through immigration?

Professor Meltz: The proportion of female clerical workers who immigrated to Canada for all periods or who immigrated from 1946 to 1961 is less than the proportion that immigrants made up of the total female labour force.

Question: One of the major criticisms of the vocational counselling that is being done in the schools is the lack of information that we are able to give young people about trends in business and industry. We seem to have done a great many studies in the past and the present but can we actually do very much in the way of significant long-range forecasting of trends? To you experts this is perhaps a very naive question.

Professor Meltz: I think we can do something in this area. It is interesting to note that the United States Manpower Forecasting Program, which is now 20 years old, was initiated as part of the occupational outlook program to give guidance to high school students and others who wanted to know what the future was. Just the attempt to do this can provide some answers, but it all depends. In manpower, someone has to be doing the general forecasting of economic developments as well as indicating what changes are likely to take place in technology and other factors that

might affect occupational trends. The results could be very wide. I think that in attempting this type of thing, we are sadly deficient. In attempting it we turn up a lot of side information. First of all it shows how inadequate the present data are.

Your question was centered on forecasting, yet we know so little about the present. One knows the present only about every ten years, and the date of issue is about a year and a half after the actual census is taken. So we know very little about the present, but in the process of attempting to look at the future I think we can get a better idea of the present and as a result be able to say something to give counsellors guidance to enable them to give guidance to others.

Questioner comment: This is the story that I get from almost everywhere that 'it all depends'. There are so many factors involved. Employers are unwilling to divulge their own private plans for the future and as a result it is very difficult to forecast. We are trying to do something, yet we have to admit that we are not doing very much. I got the same story in Sweden. Yes, we are able to give a forecast in the immediate years but nothing really from a long-range point of view. And I assume that the same is true here, but we are working in the direction of providing this sort of information, hopefully in the future.

Professor Meltz: One of the problems you mentioned is that even though firms themselves prepare forecasts of their sales and capital expenditures, very few if any bring in the manpower aspect. This affects their own recruiting and how far they are able to go ahead and tell others what their future needs are going to be. If you step back and do this for the whole economy your problems are quadrupled. We do have some forecasts now. The Gordon Commission forecasts were not followed up. Some studies of scientific manpower were initiated but were not continued. Now you have the Economic Council's estimates which again have not been applied to manpower. The problem is to link these. This is one of the things that I am exploring in this study that I am completing now.

Question: I was interested in the statistics that professional women have not increased more than a fraction of a percentage from 1901 to 1961. And this in spite of the fact that the level of women's education is steadily rising, especially since World War II, and the percentage of women attending university is going up each year. Would it be a valid assumption that opportunities at this level are not increasing or that women have not been given the opportunities even though they have this background training?

Professor Meltz: This is a question that I would like to see looked into. The average education of women in the labour force is higher than that of men, but this is not true in a lot of occupational groups, including the professions. In clerical occupations the average educational level is 10 years. I am not sure how much of the increase of education of women just went into the performance of clerical jobs and to what extent they were refused admission to professions. I think this is something that has to be looked into, but I could not answer it on the basis of the statistics. Here again the attitudes, motivation and other questions that were raised in Dr. Ostry's paper are relevant.

Questioner comment: Madame Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to put in a plug for government service. We need economists and social scientists generally. We can't produce these statistics unless we have them. There are lots of opportunities, I would say hundreds, and most of them are open to women.

Question: I have come across the theory of a very serious sociologist to the effect that as certain categories of occupations have become more remunerative and had more social prestige, men moved into these occupations to replace women. We can go back to the time when men did the hunting while women looked after the agricultural problems, and then men moved into other occupations, and so forth. Do you have any research which would substantiate this theory? For instance, take the clerical category, which might become more mechanized, call for better salaries and eliminate the meaningless sort of dog work. Might men take it over in the future?

Professor Meltz: I think this is a plausible hypothesis. I'd like to test it by looking at the running data and the trends over time. I think one might look at the category, Office Appliance Operators. This is an interesting one because it would include a lot of the new areas where computers are employing people, and if you look at the female percentage in this group over the past 30 years, you will see that it has gone down. I would not be surprised to see that their earnings had risen very rapidly. So I think that this is a possible hypothesis, though of course it would depend upon the alternatives open to men and how the earnings in this occupation compare with others open to men and the same for women. This would be a good group to test.

OPINIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Counselling

- Counsellors need to know more about career trends - the skills that will be needed in the future, the occupations that may be becoming obsolete. Study and research at greater depth in these areas is strongly recommended. Guidance workers should make certain that they are aware of the changing world, including the new opportunities available to women.
- Distinction should be made between an information service and a counselling service. If better career information were available to women, their potential as members of the work force would be greatly improved.
- There is not enough publicity about careers open to women. Parents, believing that a daughter's marriage will be the end of her having to work, encourage her to take short courses with the result that she lacks adequate preparation for entry into a professional field.
- Methods of appraisal of women who wish to return to the labour force at the age of 35 or over do not sufficiently take into account the experience of such women. As a result there is a tendency for them to downgrade themselves. Research looking to the development of more adequate methods and facilities for this purpose is overdue.
- Vocational counselling generally, whether for men or for women, does not have the kind of status it should have.
- Vocational counselling at the high school level has unique possibilities for improvement. Many counsellors have themselves never been in the world of work outside the school system. They have progressed through various levels of education, including teacher training, and gone back into a closed system. News that the guidance training program for secondary schools in Ontario is being expanded to include wider work experience was welcomed.
- Women who have brought up their own children and who are skilled and knowledgeable in human relationships, given suitable

training, would often become good counsellors or counselling assistants.

- A conference on counselling services might well be called by a government agency to discuss the needs and the gaps, including needed facilities for training, both at the professional level and at the level of counselling assistants.

Education and Job Training

- Equality of opportunity for women in the world of work depends largely on their having competence in their work. The quality of education and vocational training offered to them should be assessed from this point of view.
- There are insufficient opportunities for women to obtain technical and specialized training.
- Career development courses such as management courses are almost entirely given for men and not for women.
- Time-tables of classes should be more flexible, adjusted to the needs of women in different milieux.
- Part-time training should be available to women with young children who wish to prepare for future entry into the labour market. Teaching and nursing were two professions mentioned in which the possibilities of such part-time training might well be investigated.
- Resources which could be offered through television and correspondence courses, well designed and adapted to educational needs, should be explored.
- Lack of facilities for continuing education too often prevent people from changing to a new occupation from the particular career to which they had been directed originally. As a result of this lack, individuals are unable to take advantage of new occupational developments in the changing world of work.
- Acceptance of the notion of continuing education puts much less emphasis on what happens up to the age of 21 and a great deal more on the kinds of services that are needed for all sorts of people all through life - to help them to get back into the labour force or do other things; to enable them to learn what they must know in order to do what they need or want to do.

- There is not sufficient awareness of the changing world. Education should be directed so as to enable people to know themselves and the world and be able to adjust to what appears to be an unpredictable future.

Community Attitudes, Policies and Services

- Increasing industrialization of society has created more and more job opportunities for women and has led to a growing demand for womanpower. There is a changing attitude on the part of women themselves toward their role. It is possible to speak of a new role for women which results from higher standards of education and improved facilities in the home.
- There is a new concept of relationships within the family and of the responsibilities of the individual as a citizen - a citizen in the full sense of the word.
- Among many people at all economic levels there is a deep-rooted opposition to the employment of married women. There is a certain sense of values inherent in our culture - perhaps more prominent in the French Canadian culture - that is expressed in a concern to protect family values in order to ensure adequate nurture of the child.
- Many women today, especially those living in suburban areas, suffer from isolation as a result of husbands' prolonged absences because of their work. They feel a need to be doing something useful, something more than just filling in time.
- At every economic level there is growing exigency to take advantage of the better standards of living. Parents have a constant concern to be able to afford to give their children a better future than they, themselves, have known.
- Cultural attitudes towards the respective roles of men and women were a cause of concern. An approach to the problems of women workers from the point of view of a special status for women was questioned, but there was concern that some women feel guilty about working while others feel guilty about not working.
- There is a lack of facilities and organized services which would make it possible for women to work outside their homes without neglecting their family responsibilities.

- Employers tend to adopt a restrictive attitude towards the working woman. The prohibitive cost of training for a new employee is not justified in the eyes of the employer without the assurance of stability and permanence in employment. The young girl entering the labour force at 18 or 19 usually is not oriented towards a career. She is pre-occupied with marriage, which is regarded as her normal career. Her first objective is a short period of work of perhaps two or three years. Then, after a period spent at home, she may come face to face again with a career in the world of work.
- There is a tendency to undervalue a job from the moment it is filled by a woman and at the same time to expect greater output from her.
- There are prejudices on the part of men towards accepting women in positions of authority. Reasons for this attitude are ill-defined but they still exist.
- A fact that militates against improvement of the women's position in the labour force is the lack of realism on the part of parents who overlook the importance of education for girls as well as boys. There is also a pervading practice of designating certain jobs as male jobs, even though women may have equal competence with men for these same jobs.
- It should be a matter of choice for a woman, what type of jobs she would take or whether she would even come back to work. The crux of the matter would seem to be how society can make certain that there is a real choice available to her to stay at home or go to work. The kind of education required for the job she wants to do should be available to her, and she ought not to be barred from a profession from the fact of being a woman.
- There was a great deal of concern regarding the unchanging proportion of women in professional occupations. Research into the reasons for this situation should be undertaken.
- Legislation which would permit women who work part time to do so without prejudice to full-time workers and which would ensure them a minimum of social security was advocated.
- Services are needed for the support of the family, such as nurseries and other facilities to lighten the task of the woman who carries two roles - that of home and of work outside the home.

- More and better child care centres should be organized in the community, by the community. Such facilities should not be limited to the working mother. They should be offered to all families. Provision ought not be limited to the care of pre-school children. Hot lunches and after-school supervision for those already in school are equally important.
- It was noted that many enterprises have worked out arrangements for maternity leave with and for their employees. In general, however, more generous and comprehensive provisions than exist at the present time should be considered.
- Income tax structure should be renewed with a view to more favourable tax provisions for the married woman worker.
- A strong sense of urgency regarding the problems under discussion led to a proposal that there be set up in Canada something akin to the United States President's Commission on the Status of Women to explore all aspects of the position of women and make recommendations for suitable action.

FROM THE CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY

Issues for the Future

- More relevant adequate vocational counselling and training for girls and women, since competence is the key to efficient and effective participation in the labour force.
- Recognition of the potentialities of women entering or re-entering the labour force in middle life through provision of suitable facilities of counselling and training for them. (The remarkable achievement of the Quo Vadis School of Nursing was cited in this context.)
- The creation of a climate of opinion conducive to broader vocational horizons and opportunities for girls and women, mitigating the influence of attitudes and circumstances that inhibit authentic educational and vocational decisions at various stages in their lives.
- Renewed emphasis on the principles of equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for women in respect to employment and promotion.
- Provision of more adequate day care services for the children of working parents.
- Review of questions of protection vs equality in working conditions for women especially in regard to such issues as night work, within the context of increasingly shared responsibilities between husband and wife within the home and growing recognition in industrial relations and personnel policies of the individual family commitments of both men and women workers.
- Consideration of special arrangements for working hours for women in the perspective of a trend towards reduced hours of work for the entire labour force.
- Acceptance by interested agencies and organizations of the obligation of continuing study and observation of trends in women's employment and the problems of women workers, as a basis for recommendations to governments with respect to needed changes in legislation and social policies.

- Deeper and more comprehensive enquiry under appropriate government auspices into all aspects of the position of women in Canadian society.

CONSULTATION PARTICIPANTS

Mr. J. E. Andoff, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Mr. K. H. Annett, Québec
Québec Department of Education.

Mrs. Margaret Ashdown, Toronto
The Canadian Federation of Business and Professional
Women's Clubs.

Dr. Frances Bairstow, Montreal
McGill University.

Mr. Alec Bannister, St. John's
Newfoundland Department of Labour.

Mr. C. L. Bedal, Toronto
The Guidance Centre.
Ontario College of Education.

Mrs. Richard A. Bell, Bells Corners
Canadian Federation of University Women.

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University of Toronto.

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Department of National Health and Welfare.

Miss Dorothy Cadwell, Ottawa
Civil Service Commission.

Miss Margaret St. C. Clark, Toronto
The Canadian Dietetic Association.

Mr. Frank Clute, Toronto
Ontario Department of Education.

Mr. Phil Cohen, Ottawa
Department of Labour.

Mr. Raymond Coté, Ottawa
University of Ottawa.

Mrs. H. Cox, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Mr. B. Curtis, Ottawa
Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa.

Mrs. E. Dean, Winnipeg
Manitoba Department of Labour.

Mme Clement Despins, Hull
Cercles de Fermières.

Miss P. Detenbeck, Toronto
Ontario Department of Education.

Mrs. Jean Dobson, Halifax
Nova Scotia Department of Labour.

Miss Jean Dorgan, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Mrs. Lois Fletcher, Ottawa
Department of National Health and Welfare.

Miss Gertrude Gerlach, Ottawa
Canadian Home Economics Association.

Miss Alison Hardy, Ottawa
Department of External Affairs.

Mlle Madeleine Joubert, Montréal
Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes.

Dr. S. Judek, Ottawa
University of Ottawa.

Miss Daisy Kaschte, Toronto
United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers.

Mlle L. Lacasse, Ottawa
Department of Labour.

Miss M.R. Lachapelle, Montreal
Canadian National Railways.

Mme Marthe C. Laliberté, Québec
Cercles de Fermières.

Miss M. Lennox, Toronto
Traffic Employees' Association.

Miss J. Lynam, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Mrs. Ruth Marlyn, Ottawa
Canadian Labour Congress.

Dr. Grace Maynard, Ottawa
External Aid Office.

Mr. J. M. McCullagh, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Miss Catherine D. McLean, Toronto
Quo Vadis School of Nursing.

Mrs. Ethel McLellan, Toronto
Ontario Department of Labour.

Mrs. T. O'Connell, Montreal
National Employment Service.

Mrs. K. Z. Paltiel, Ottawa
Canadian Welfare Council.

Mr. N. N. Papove, Ottawa
Department of National Health and Welfare.

Mrs. Dorothy R. Patterson, Ottawa
Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

M. André Pilon, Montréal
La Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal.

Miss Anne Plunkett, Ottawa
Department of Labour.

Mrs. Phyllis Poland, Montreal
Montreal Y.W.C.A.

Mr. R. W. Pollock, Toronto
Office Overload Company Limited.

Mrs. M. V. Quinte, Toronto
National Employment Service.

Miss Mary Rocan, Regina
Saskatchewan Department of Labour.

Miss Dodie Robb, Toronto
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Mlle Henriette Rouleau, Ottawa
Canada Department of Agriculture.

Mme Yvette Rousseau, Coaticook
Fédération Canadienne des Travailleurs du Textile Inc.

Miss Glenna Rowsell, Ottawa
Canadian Nurses' Association.

Mlle Paule Sainte-Marie, Montreal
La Presse.

Mme Fernande Saint-Martin, Montréal
Chatelaine.

Mr. G. A. Shearer, Ottawa
Unemployment Insurance Commission.

Miss V. A. Sims, Ottawa
Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Miss Joyce Snead, Montreal
The Engineering Institute of Canada.

Miss M. Stevenson, Ottawa
National Employment Service.

Miss Marguerite B. Stillwell, Fredericton
New Brunswick Department of Labour.

Miss Catherine A. Toal, London
The Catholic Women's League of Canada.

Miss Lillian Thomson, Ottawa
The Canadian Welfare Council.

Mrs. Helen Wood, Toronto
Office Overload Company Limited.

Miss F. L. Wright, Montreal
Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada.

Mrs. Jean Wright, Toronto
Chatelaine.

Translators

Mr. Paul Patenaude
Mrs. Ingrid Giossan

Women's Bureau Staff

Miss Marion V. Royce
Miss Helen Traynor
Mrs. Celia Bookman
Mrs. S. Parnell

APPENDIX

CURRICULA VITAE

(Mrs.) Sylvia Ostry

Dr. Ostry was born in Winnipeg and educated at the Winnipeg public schools. She completed the pre-medical course and one year of Medicine at the University of Manitoba but then changed to McGill University where she received the B.A. (hon. economics) degree in 1948 and the M.A. (economics) in 1950. Mrs. Ostry received her Ph.D. in 1954, with residence at Cambridge University (England) and McGill. From 1948 until 1955, Mrs. Ostry was on the staff of the Economics Department at McGill (apart from the period of study in England). Between 1955 and 1958 she was a Research Officer at the University of Oxford Institute of Statistics. In 1958 she returned to McGill as an Assistant Professor and in 1962 she was appointed Associate Professor (Economics) at the University of Montreal. In 1964, Mrs. Ostry resigned from the University of Montreal to enter the Civil Service. She is presently Assistant Director of the Labour Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Consultant to the Economic Council of Canada.

Among the academic awards and grants Mrs. Ostry has received are the Isbister and Aikins Scholarships (University of Manitoba); the Alexander Mackenzie Scholarship, the Arthur Tagge Fellowship, the Moyse Travelling Fellowship (McGill); two post-doctoral Canada Council grants and two post-doctoral Canadian Social Science Research Council grants. A selected list of publications includes:

"Wage Criteria in Collective Bargaining", Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Jan. 1956.

"The Wage Structure of a Large Steel Firm", Bulletin of the University of Oxford Institute of Statistics, Aug. 1958.

"Interindustry Earnings Differentials in Canada", Industrial and Labour Relations Review, April 1959.

Senate of Canada, Committee on Manpower and Employment, Vol. VI, "The Definition and Measurement of Unemployment".

Labour Policy and Labour Economics in Canada, (with H.D. Woods) Macmillan Co. of Canada, Toronto, 1962.

Population and Labour Force Projections to 1970, Ottawa, 1964 (with F.T. Denton and Y. Kasahara).

An Analysis of Post-War Unemployment (with F. T. Denton)

"Uses of Job Vacancy Data in Various Countries", The Measurement and Interpretation of Job Vacancies, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1965.

The Economic Status of the Aging, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966, (with Miss J. Podoluk).

Professor Noah M. Meltz

Professor Meltz was born in Toronto in 1934 and attended the University of Toronto in Commerce and Finance. Graduating in 1957 he was awarded the Industrial Relations Fellowship by Princeton University to undertake postgraduate work in economics. Professor Meltz received his A.M. degree from Princeton in 1960 and his Ph.D. in 1964. He completed the latter degree with financial support from the Federal Department of Labour and from a Canada Council Fellowship.

Dr. Meltz lectured at the Ontario Agricultural College (University of Guelph) for one year 1958-1959 and held the position of economist with the Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, Ottawa from 1960 to 1964. In 1964, Dr. Meltz joined the University of Toronto at Scarborough College and the Department of Political Economy, as assistant Professor. In 1965 Dr. Meltz was promoted to Associate Professor.

Professor Meltz publications include:

Changes in the Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1961, Occasional Paper No. 2, Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965.

Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-1961, prepared for and published by the Department of Labour, Ottawa, Research Program on Training of Skilled Manpower, Report No. 11, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963.

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